

THE SHEFFIELD ANARCHIST

VOL 3 N° 12 SPRING 1986

PAY WHAT YOU LIKE



MAYDAY: A CENTURY OF BURIED HISTORY

THE SHEFFIELD ANARCHIST IS PRODUCED BY SHEFFIELD ANARCHISTS AS AN AID TO THE WIDER DISSEMINATION OF ANARCHIST IDEAS IN THE SHEFFIELD AREA AND FURTHER ABROAD.

VOLUME 1 NUMBER 2 WAS PUBLISHED IN 1891, AND IT WAS INTENDED THAT THE PAPER SHOULD APPEAR FORTNIGHTLY, BUT PRESSURE FROM THE POLICE, THE CHURCH AND AUTHORITY IN GENERAL FORCED A HALT IN PRODUCTION AFTER ONLY 10 ISSUES. IT WAS REVIVED IN 1975 AND CONTINUED TO APPEAR, SOMEWHAT SPORADICALLY, THROUGHOUT THE 70'S. SINCE MARCH 1983 IT HAS BEEN PRODUCED ON A QUARTERLY BASIS.

THE PAPER HAS NO FIXED PRICE, A CONTINUATION OF THE ORIGINAL POLICY OF THE FOUNDERS, SO THAT THE WANT OF A FEW PENCE SHALL NOT PREVENT THE SHARING OF IDEAS. WE PAY OURSELVES NO WAGES UNDER ANY GUISE, HAVE NO EXPENSE ACCOUNTS AND SUPPORT NO OTHER ENTERPRISE, (NOR ARE WE SUPPORTED BY ANY OTHER ENTERPRISE). ALL MONEY RECEIVED FOR THE PAPER GOES TOWARDS ENSURING THAT WE CAN PRINT MORE COPIES OF THE NEXT ISSUE. AND THOSE WHO ARE ABLE TO GIVE GENEROUSLY ENSURE THAT COPIES CAN BE AVAILABLE FOR THOSE WHO CANNOT AFFORD TO GIVE ANYTHING.

WE HAVE ALWAYS ENCOURAGED OUR READERS TO GET INVOLVED WITH THE PAPER, AND WITH THE WIDER ACTIVITIES OF THE GROUP. CONTRIBUTIONS OF AN ANARCHIST NATURE ARE ALWAYS WELCOME FOR PUBLICATION, BE THEY ARTICLES, REVIEWS, POEMS, GRAPHICS OR WHATEVER - WE EXERCISE NO EDITORIAL CONTROL OR CENSORSHIP OVER CONTRIBUTIONS, AND INCLUSION IS SUBJECT ONLY TO AVAILABLE SPACE.

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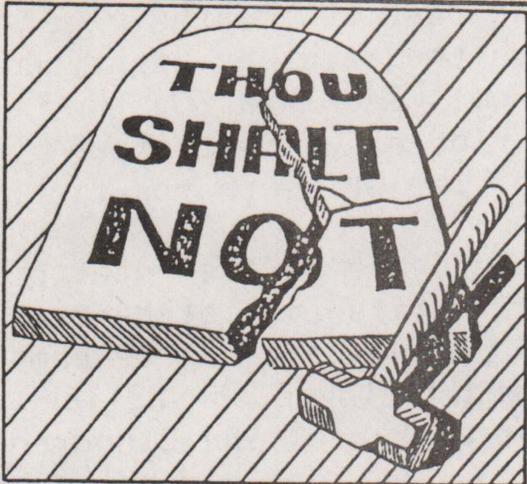
I WANT TO TELL YOU ABOUT ANARCHISM.
I WANT TO TELL YOU WHAT ANARCHISM IS, BECAUSE I THINK IT IS WELL YOU SHOULD KNOW IT. ALSO BECAUSE SO LITTLE IS KNOWN ABOUT IT, AND WHAT IS KNOWN IS GENERALLY HEARSAY AND MOSTLY FALSE. I WANT TO TELL YOU ABOUT IT, BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT ANARCHISM IS THE FINEST AND BIGGEST THING MAN HAS EVER THOUGHT OF; THE ONLY THING THAT CAN GIVE JOY AND LIBERTY AND WELL-BEING, AND BRING JOY AND PEACE TO THE WORLD....
THEREFORE I MUST TELL YOU, FIRST OF ALL, WHAT ANARCHISM IS NOT.
IT IS NOT BOMBS, DISORDER AND CHAOS.
IT IS NOT A WAR OF EACH AGAINST ALL.
IT IS NOT ROBBERY AND MURDER.
IT IS NOT A RETURN TO BARBARISM OR TO THE WILD STATE OF MAN.
ANARCHISM IS THE VERY OPPOSITE OF ALL THAT.
ANARCHISM MEANS THAT YOU SHOULD BE FREE; THAT NO-ONE SHOULD ENSLAVE YOU, BOSS YOU, ROB YOU OR IMPOSE UPON YOU.
IT MEANS THAT YOU SHOULD BE FREE TO DO THE THINGS THAT YOU WANT TO DO; AND YOU SHOULD NOT BE COMPELLED TO DO WHAT YOU DON'T WANT TO DO.
IT MEANS YOU SHOULD HAVE A CHANCE TO CHOOSE THE KIND OF LIFE YOU WANT TO LIVE, AND LIVE IT WITHOUT ANYBODY INTERFERING.
IT MEANS THE NEXT FELLOW SHOULD HAVE THE SAME FREEDOM AS YOU, THAT EVERYONE SHOULD HAVE THE SAME RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES....
IN SHORT, ANARCHISM MEANS A CONDITION OF SOCIETY WHERE ALL MEN AND WOMEN ARE FREE, AND WHERE ALL ENJOY EQUALLY THE BENEFITS OF AN ORDERED AND SENSIBLE LIFE.

FROM 'ABC OF ANARCHISM' BY ALEXANDER BERKMAN.



THE SHEFFIELD ANARCHIST

PO Box 217, Sheffield S1 1FD



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When you've been waiting on Fargate for hours, just to find that all the SHEFFIELD ANARCHIST paper-sellers have been arrested (or gone to the pub). When you've combed every Lefty bookshop in Yorkshire in search of your favourite Anarchist mag (and said "No I don't want a copy of 'Red Drivel'" at least 200 times) only to find they've all sold out. When you didn't win the subscription prize in the Sheffield Prisoners Support Group raffle (because you were too tight to buy a ticket) you'll wish you'd saved yourself the trouble and sent us the meagre sum of £1.60.

We calculate that to cover the cost of printing, postage and envelopes for 4 issues you're getting a pretty good deal for £1.60 (Course you can always send us a donation), so why don't you do the sensible thing and subscribe. You can still come and chat to us on Fargate if you want to, you could even help us flog a few papers to your less enlightened sisters and brothers.

Please make cheques/P.O.s payable to 'Sheffield Libertarian Society'.

HOME NEWS

SUMMER FUN STARTS EARLY

There have been several riots in South Yorkshire during the past few months. The following report on the Stainforth riot which took place on the Saturday night and Sunday morning of 25th and 26th of January is reprinted from 'CLASS WAR'. On the Friday night before the Stainforth riot there was another riot at Grimesthorpe, which also started after an attempted arrest by the police. The Grimesthorpe riot was not reported by the police until the following Monday.

It all started when the police made the grand entrance into one of the local pubs "The Fox" and lifted one of the local anti-social elements. Anti-social element or not the police, after 12 months of struggle and entrenched hatred, are not welcome anywhere in this village. And when the lad's father got up and followed the police outside to complain at the arrest of his son, all eyes went with him, the blood enriched by now with several pints of John Smiths was pounding. The cops did not appreciate the verbal from the arrestees father and punched him, that was it, World War 3 had been declared. The police car was rapidly wrecked, and in the course of the night as odd cars and meat wagons rolled into the village they were stoned and turned over, many with the filth inside. The police station was also subject to attack, as the crowd of combatants grew from pub to pub, and the streets filled with people itching to have a go at their favourite people.

One old lad arrested was a veteran of the strike campaign and many a rough picket, he was violently grabbed for telling the cops where to go and arrested, but not before he'd put up a spirited resistance with his walking stick.

The armoured vans and riot shields started to appear as convoys of filth started to pour into the village, sadly some of the young 'uns tried to sieze service buses to use as road blocks and started bricking them while they were full of villagers coming back from town. If handled correctly the passengers would have probably joined in the fun and the bus driver donated the bus, it being the last run of the evening anyway.

By about 2.30am the next morning the ambushers who had coaxed the simple filth down the back alleys to be bricked had nipped off to bed, ready for the boozing session next morning, leaving the filth tiptoeing round not certain what to expect nor when to expect it.

As news spread round the village the next day and into the neighbouring Dunscroft and Hatfield the general feeling was one of gross disappointment at having missed the fun; this suggests that "trouble" for the cops will not be long away in the future...

Danny the Red

Riots like the one described above have been taking place all over the country, on a massive scale for the last 6 months. Despite the press black-out reports are still getting through to the above press. Wait until the Summer gets under full swing.

'CLASS WAR' can be obtained from Box CW, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1. Price 20p and send a SAE.

PRINTERS SOLIDARITY

At the end of February Anarchists in Leeds occupied the offices of Ernst & Whinney, King St, Leeds 1. They are the firm of accountants responsible for the sequestration of SOGAT's funds. The occupation lasted nearly 3 hours and involved around 2 dozen Anarchists. There were no arrests, and the action was well reported.

All around the country bundles of the Murdoch-Scab papers have been dissapearing from outside Newsagents. This has been happening early in the morning just after they are delivered.

Direct Actionists should note that the former TNT depot at Rotherham is no longer being used to distribute papers. SOGAT know the location of all the TNT depots, but they are refusing to divulge them. If you know of any in the Sheffield area let us know.

Home NEWS

ON THE BUSES

In response to the introduction of massive fare increases on South Yorkshire Transport from April 1st, there have been several Anarchist inspired initiatives at resistance. SHEFFIELD ANARCHISTS were responsible for the production of a hoax poster, complete with S.Y.T. logo, claiming that a new subsidy had been found for the buses made up out of councillors income. Unfortunately, despite the TV coverage,

NEW Information



Fares

EMERGENCY NOTICE

FOLLOWING AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE GENERAL FARES RELIEVE COMMITTEE HELD ON THE 28TH OF MARCH, IT WAS FINALLY AGREED BY COUNCIL MEMBERS AND SOUTH YORKSHIRE TRANSPORT OFFICIALS THAT, OWING TO A NEWLY DISCOVERED SUBSIDY ELEMENT MADE FROM COUNCIL MEMBERS INCOME, BUS FARES COULD BE GIVEN A LONG TERM RELIEF SUBSIDY AND THEREFORE BE MAINTAINED AT THEIR PRESENT LOW LEVEL UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE.

PASSENGERS ARE THEREFORE REQUESTED TO IGNORE ALL PREVIOUS NOTIFICATIONS REGARDING BUS FARE INCREASES AND IN EFFECT FROM APRIL 1ST BUS FARES WILL REMAIN AT THEIR PREVIOUS LOW LEVEL.

PAY YOUR NORMAL FARE

2P . 5P . 10P . 15P . 20P . 25P

Yet another Labour Success!

Printed by Sheffield Christana Press

radio reports and front page headlines, it had a minimal effect as a form of sabotage; S.Y.T. inspectors were kept up all night removing the posters from bus shelters all over Sheffield and as far afield as Rotherham. It did give us a good laugh though. Sheffield 'Christana' (an anagram of Anarchist) Press took the credits. The press throughout history have been prepared to implicate Anarchists in the actions of anybody's cause but our own to discredit Anarchism. Imagine our mirth at their inability to unravel such an elementary conspiracy.

SHEFFIELD BUS CONCERN have also had their initiatives reported in the press, and on radio. The tactic of mass refusal in complying with the increased fares has yet to ignite the popular flame. It has resulted in minor inconvenience and people getting chucked off buses.

Notably the initiative resulting in the most casualties on our side was a cyclists 'go slow' organised by Sheffield Bus Concern (NB 7 arrests NB Common character with traditional pacific protest).

We will be making more news.

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JOIN THE POLICE AND BECOME A SOCIAL LEPER (No 147 IN AN ONGOING SERIES)

Sheffield 'community' copper PC Denis Scaife recently held a 'surgery' for his community to come along and meet him and no doubt grass up their neighbours. Unfortunately for PC Scaife it was the usual story - nobody turned up.

PINK COUNCIL GOES RED

According to figures released by Sheffield City Council leader David Blunkett some months ago, the Council are currently in debt to the tune of considerably more than £566 Million. Despite this they have just spent a small fortune on yet another of their egotistical schemes; the publication of a glossy publication all about all those Sheffield City Council successes (like rate-capping or bus fares for instance). Despite the fact that this is just the latest in a constant stream of egotistical garbage, Blunkett had the cheek to say that it was time the Council started beating its own drum "for once".

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In August 1980 a great wave of freedom passed through our country. Workers of Gdansk and Sunecin shipyards began the strike. They won free press, free trade union SOLIDARITY and a little autonomy of factories. But it was too much for the communist government. On the 13th of December they introduced martial law. About 40,000 SOLIDARITY activists were arrested, tanks were on the streets of our towns, riot cops shot at miners in "Wuyeh" mine in Ratowice. It was the 11th anniversary of the butchering of the shipyard workers in December 1970. "People's" power showed once again its real face.

Now SOLIDARITY acts underground. It consists of people of many different ideologies (christian democrats, social-democrats, anarcho-syndicalists and others). Certainly it rejects communists and fascists. SOLIDARITY prints underground papers and books to fight the state monopoly of news. From May 1st 1982 there is a tradition of two May Day processions - the legal state procession and the illegal SOLIDARITY procession. The SOLIDARITY processions are attacked by police with water cannon, but are always greater than the legal procession.

Now we prepare for the May Day procession for the 100th anniversary of the Haymarket events. We also fight against compulsory military service. RS@ (anarchist Movement of Alternative Society) call young people to boycott it. About 200 young men chose prison rather than be servants of the regime. There are 400 other libertarian prisoners.

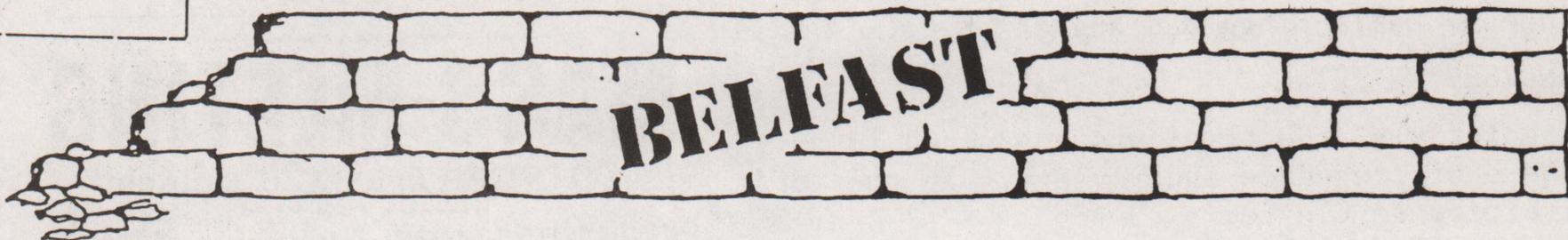
State schools don't differ much from prisons. Pupils are forced to enter communist organisations. Anti-communist teachers are kicked out from schools. But there is strong resistance against the regime. There is FEDERATION OF FIGHTING YOUTH in our schools. It printed leaflets and organised "silent breaks" to protest against the government.

The state will never break our resistance.

Yours in struggle against the state.

POLISH ANARCHISTS

For more information on Poland see the letter on our letters page.



As soon as anyone mentions Belfast we picture a divided, riot-torn city, well this may be true, we do have our differences over religion and politics, but that is down to the conditioning of our so-called leaders, the Irish and British governments, the church leaders and the Godfathers of the various para-military organisations. You see so long as we remain divided they will gain either increased power over our lives, increased wealth or maybe both. Slowly but surely however the people here are beginning to see them for the self-seeking bigots that they are, and are rejecting their leadership. We haven't exactly an Anarchist history here, but we're working on it. There was a good bit of Anarchist involvement in the civil rights movement of the late 60's, then during the late 70's groups began to spring up all over Ireland and indeed all over Belfast.

In Smithfield, one of the old Belfast markets, there's a small, small bookshop, 'Just Books'. The groundfloor is where the books are sold, they cover every subject imaginable from hardline Republican/Loyalist propaganda to feminism, Anarchy, human rights, animal rights, fiction, you name it you'll find a book about it. The point is it provides an outlet for all points of view, it doesn't act as a censor.

MAY DAY: A CENTURY OF BURIED HISTORY

As with much Anarchist and revolutionary history, the events surrounding MayDay's adoption as an international workers day have been almost completely buried.

The history of MayDay as a day of historical significance to the working class movement and, more specifically to the international Anarchist movement, began 100 years ago in the united states.

WORKING MEN ARM YOURSELVES

A proposal that the 8 hour day be enforced by direct action had been made at a labour movement congress in Chicago in 1884. It was accepted and was to take effect as of May 1st 1886.

On that day 800,000 workers of a variety of trades came out on strike across the u.s. In Chicago, an immigrant labour and Anarchist stronghold 300,000 workers struck and marched through the city's streets.

Before this had taken place, the management at McCormick Machine Co. (now International Harvester) had locked 1500 of their workers out over a wage dispute.

On May 3rd, pickets attempting to stop the hired blacklegs from entering the plant were fired upon by Chicago police and gunmen from Pinkertons. Between 4 and 6 people were killed (according to various accounts) and many others were injured.

A protest demonstration was called for the following evening (May 4th) to be held at Haymarket square. Handbills in English and German read "Workingmen arm yourselves and appear in full force!"

The rally was addressed by three prominent Anarchists; Albert Parsons, August Spies and Samuel Fielden.

As Fielden was concluding his speech and the crowd began to wander off, 200 police marched into the square and ordered the meeting to disperse. Despite Fielden's objection that the meeting had been peaceful and was almost over, the police captain insisted that the crowd disperse.

The police opened fire on the crowd; hitting several people. It was then that a bomb was thrown into the police ranks, killing one and wounding many others (some fatally). The police response was predictably vicious, 20-30 people were killed and many were injured. Some accounts say that the bomb was thrown before the police opened fire, but this seems unlikely.

In the hysteria which followed a round-up of known Anarchists took place, including the three speakers from the meeting and several others. From these, eight were to be brought to trial for the murder of the policeman; they were: Albert Parsons, George Engel, Samuel Fielden, Adolph Fischer, Michael Schwab, Oscar Neebe, Louis Lingg and August Spies.

ANARCHY ON TRIAL

Predictably, the trial was conducted in an atmosphere of prejudice and revenge. In the words of Voltairine de Cleyre:

"The capitalists and their tools Judge Gary and prosecutor Grinnell, had determined to hunt Anarchy to death. The procession of iniquities called 'The Trial' begins. The State's attorney boasts that he will have the jury packed to kill; boasts openly in the court that though these men are being tried legally for murder, or conspiracy to murder, it is Anarchy which is on trial."

All of the accused, except for Oscar Neebe who was sentenced to 15 years, were sentenced to death. Michael Schwab and Samuel Fielden later had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment. The sentences are all the more sickening as six of the accused were not even present when the bomb was thrown. Louis Lingg hadn't even known about the meeting until the following day.

Attention Workingmen!

MASS-MEETING

TO-NIGHT, at 7.30 o'clock,

HAYMARKET, Randolph St., Bet. Desplaines and Halsted.

Good Speakers will be present to denounce the latest atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.

Workingmen Arm Yourselves and Appear in Full Force!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Achtung, Arbeiter!

Große

Massen-Versammlung

Heute Abend, 8 Uhr, auf dem

Haymarkt, Randolph-Strasse, zwischen Desplaines- u. Halsted-Str.

Gute Redner werden den neuesten Schurkenstreich der Polizei, indem sie gestern Nachmittag unsere Brüder erschoss, geißeln.

Arbeiter, bewaffnet Euch und erscheint massenhaft!

Das Exekutiv-Komitee.

On November 10th 1887, Louis Lingg killed himself with an explosive device smuggled into him, inside a cigar, by another Anarchist. He died with the words "Hoch die Anarchie" on his shattered lips. The following day, November 11th, Parsons, Spies, Engel and Fischer were hanged.

Parsons had known that his sentence would have been commuted had he signed a petition to the governor, but that his comrades were doomed to die. The others were prepared to sign the petition in the hope that Parsons would be convinced to save his life. He refused, saying "I will not sign. What is my life that for its sake my comrades should stand before the world as cowards, and their death be lost to the cause?" So Parsons went to the gallows with his comrades while his wife and child were held and searched in a cell, having been denied their promised last interview. November 11th was commemorated for many years after in memory of the Chicago martyrs.

In 1893, the governor of Illinois concluded that there was no evidence to suggest that the eight men had been involved in the bombing. He criticised the judge and the trial, and pardoned the imprisoned men. His judgement came six years too late to save our murdered comrades.

MAYDAY PAST

MayDay was celebrated around the world in a variety of ways. On July 14th 1889 MayDay was adopted as a workers holiday by the International Labour Congress meeting in Paris. In 1890, demonstrations took place in America and Europe, firmly establishing MayDay as an international workers day. The following year in France there were riots and clashes with the police.

The Haymarket events were commemorated in Sheffield by a large public rally in November 1890 addressed by John Creaghe and Andrew Hall of the Sheffield Anarchists, and another rally on MayDay 1891. A tradition which was kept up for many years.

MAYDAY PRESENT

These days MayDay means very little to most people. Its history has been fragmented and buried, either consciously or otherwise, and it now can be any of a number of diverse things. Usurped by the communist states it has become synonymous with columns of tanks grinding through the snow in Red Square. The British trade unions hold small rallies where they listen to one or two waffling lefties and then go home to forget most of it. To others it is remembered as a pagan festival.

To most people though, MayDay appears as yet another one of those Bank Holidays, much like any other Sunday only a touch more boring. Most of the time, it isn't even on May 1st any more. 'Disneytime', 'Jim'll Fix It', etc. No mention of judicial murder here, just a safe little holiday.

THE TIME WILL COME

The events at the Haymarket rally and the cold-blooded persecution and murder of the five Chicago martyrs brought many new converts to Anarchism, including Emma Goldman, to give one notable example. And, although these events may seem a bit too distant to win very many new converts in the present day, they can and should serve as a constant reminder of what we are fighting against and why.

I can think of no more fitting conclusion to this article than the last words of August Spies:

"THE TIME WILL COME WHEN OUR SILENCE WILL BE MORE POWERFUL THAN
THE VOICES YOU STRANGLE TODAY."

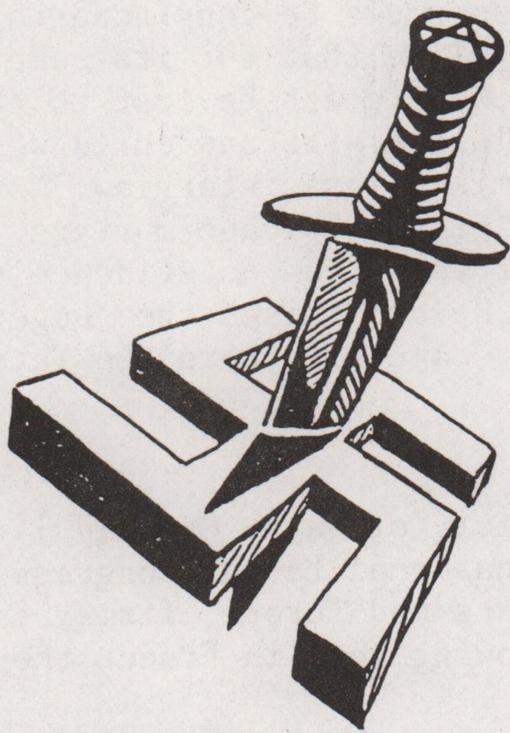
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SPACE

Due to the present attack of verbal diarrhoea currently affecting some of our contributors, we have not had room for several of our regular features, including the SHEFFIELD PRISONERS SUPPORT GROUP page, Phonenumber Fun and our series on Sheffield City Council, hopefully things will be back to normal next issue.

COPYDATE FOR 'THE SHEFFIELD ANARCHIST' VOL 3 No 13 IS MAY 22ND - Contributions recieved after this date cannot be guaranteed inclusion in the Summer issue. Please try and remember this.

The Struggle Against Fascism



Then & Now

There are considerable differences between the ideology and tactics of British fascism of the 1970's, and those of the 1980's. In order that we may know best how to combat the fascism of today it is necessary that we understand these differences.

BRITISH FASCISM IN THE 1970'S

In the 1970's British fascism attempted to mask its real politics and objectives beneath a guise of good old fashioned simple patriotism, and attempted to gain influence and respectability through electoral participation. This is not to say that fascists did not engage in the age-old tactics of beatings, arson and murder; they did, but the fascist leadership was generally very keen to keep these activities at arms length and out of the central arena of British fascist politics.

Their politics, particularly those of the NATIONAL FRONT (then and now the main fascist organisation in this country),

were idiotically simple, designed to appeal to people's ignorance and worst prejudices. On the one hand blacks wouldn't do "an honest days work", earning their money from pimping, mugging old ladies and "scrounging" off social security, while simultaneously stealing "our jobs" (and 'our' council houses to boot).

Despite the moronic level of their propaganda the National Front scored some electoral victories in the 70's, at least they pulled in some sizeable votes in some areas by taking advantage of the British political situation of the time.

The Front did well in some predominantly working class

areas, particularly in East London, where many traditional Labour Party voters had become disillusioned by the appalling anti-working class politics of the Labour Government (Scottish and Welsh nationalists benefitted for the same reason). The fascists took advantage of the political situation to blame the problems of capitalism on immigration. But precisely because their policies were based almost exclusively on immigration, they were not capable of sustaining long-term support from all except die-hard fascists.

As the N.F. and the other fascist organisations committed to electoral participation were exposed as fascists they lost much of the support they had got from their previously mis-guided followers. They also lost support from the seemingly sizeable "I fought in the war" brigade, when the old soldiers were reminded of what they had (supposedly) been fighting against.

But the final nail in the coffin of fascist electoral participation was hammered in by the Tory victory in the 1979 General Election. As the Tory Party continued to move to the right the fascists lost much of their traditional political terrain. And with the Labour Party in opposition, once again spinning the same old lies to the working class, the fascists were deserted by their remaining traditional Labour voters.



A typical example of 70's NF propaganda

CONTINUED...

The National Front and the other fascist organisations committed to participating in elections could always count on a few votes from traditional English bigots and their own fascist supporters, but by the end of the 1970's they had lost the propaganda war (along with the war of the streets), and the parliamentary road to National Socialism was no longer realistically open to them.

By the early 80's the British fascist movement, battered by the forces of both left and right, had been reduced to a gaggle of squabbling 'leaders', and their members, all but the hard-core, had deserted them. Their membership figures plummeted from an all-time high of 17,500 in 1976 to less than a 1000.

As far as most of the left were concerned, the fascists were gone forever. As the left turned their attentions to more fashionable, more politically lucrative campaigns like the anti-nuclear issue, a new fascist movement began to grow unchecked.

THE 'ANTI - NAZI LEAGUE'

The ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE was not, as Trot legend would have us believe, formed at the

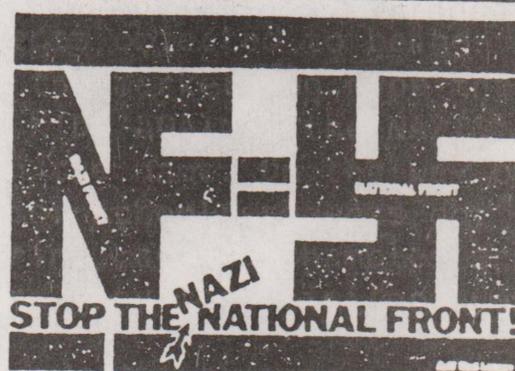
height of the National Front's popularity. It was formed when the left (notably the 'SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY') realised that they could make political capital out of the new anti-fascist awareness demonstrated at Wood Green and Lewisham in 1977.

The A.N.L. was supposedly a 'broad-based front' designed to expose the N.F. and similar organisations as 'Nazi'. More realistically the A.N.L. was a bastard marriage of rich liberals, zionists and Trot opportunists. Although it succeeded in helping to make people aware of what it referred to as the "Nazi menace" and in helping to mobilise public opinion against the fascist organisations,

the A.N.L. could never have succeeded in undermining the real nature of fascism because it did not attempt to. The A.N.L. was a purely anti-racist front (though it certainly had more than a few racists within its ranks), the fascist attitude towards gays and women (for instance) was used to sell 'Gay's against the Nazi's or 'Women against the Nazis' badges, but this was nothing more than a shallow sales-pitch. In Sheffield producers of the (Anarchist) schools anti-fascist bulletin 'SCHOOL'S OUT' were advised by a leading A.N.L. member (and a leading member of the S.W.P.) not to put anything about gay rights in the first few issues as this would "put people off".

The A.N.L. encouraged people to be 'Anti-Nazi' because Brian Clough or Frankie Vaughan said that they were. This pathetic cultivation and manipulation of crude hero worship led to people like racist comedian Dave Allen and anti-gypsy M.P. Joe Ashton being included in the A.N.L.s list of 'famous' supporters (which pathetically was the first piece of printed propaganda the A.N.L. produced). Also among the 'famous' signatories on the A.N.L.s founding statement was Neil Kinnock, a raving homophobic (among other things) who has frequently referred to gays as "woofers" and "pansies".

Despite all Anarchist criticisms of the A.N.L. and all its failings as an anti-fascist organisation, it did score a success in exposing the leadership of the fascist organisations, and many A.N.L. members were certainly more aware of the real nature of fascism than the leadership. In some cases though this led to the A.N.L. (and the S.W.P.) biting off more than it could chew. One notable example were the school students, they resolutely resisted attempts by A.N.L./S.W.P. Chief Simon Ogden (who was even then a little old to be attending youth meetings) to force them to elect a chairperson. Early on in the history of the A.N.L. school students objected to being referred to as schoolkids by the A.N.L. hierarchy, but in the marketing hype this was swept under the carpet and they were labelled 'SCHOOL KIDS AGAINST the NAZIS' (S.K.A.N.) complete with the badges and banners to go with the name. On the way back from the London Anti-Fascist Carnival in 1978, the Anarchist school-students got their revenge by reducing a coachload of Trots to a gibbering, crying shambles armed with only a couple of waterpistols. A story (and there were many more similar events) that at one time was being told all over Sheffield.



An example of the shallow 'Anti-Nazi' propaganda of the A.N.L.

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The idea of the liberal front is one that Trots are always keen to support, because organisations of this kind, without any real politics can be used and manipulated so easily by them. For 'broad-based front' read 'bigger net' to ensnare more people into the Trot partys.

POLICE AND THIEVES

In Sheffield the Socialist Workers Party (sic.) and the A.N.L. had a joint fuhrer in slimey Simon Ogden (now retired), and the A.N.L. was very much of an S.W.P. recruiting front (It was quite common to be offered a lift to an S.W.P. meeting after an A.N.L. meeting - they both took place on the same night). Like all opportunists the S.W.P. were quick to latch onto the potentially rewarding issue of packaged anti-fascism, only to drop it like a hot potato when it became less fashionable.

During their honeymoon with anti-fascism the Trots gave the fascists few real problems, they would chant "Smash the nazi N.F." for hours, only to scuttle off when confronted by a couple of fascists. The line given by the Sheffield S.W.P. central committee was that if their members confronted the fascists, this would only result in reprisals against their paper-sellers. The slogans, the chanting, the badges and the benefits kept the consciences of the fools who went along with this happy : Bread and Circuses c/o the S.W.P. (and there was something of this in much of the left anti-fascist scene). The s.w.p. did have some problems keeping its rank and file in line with party policy, (obviously they did recruit some genuine anti-fascists), and the leadership were quick to condemn those who went beyond wearing badges and mouthing empty slogans. Real anti-fascists were forced to leave the party.

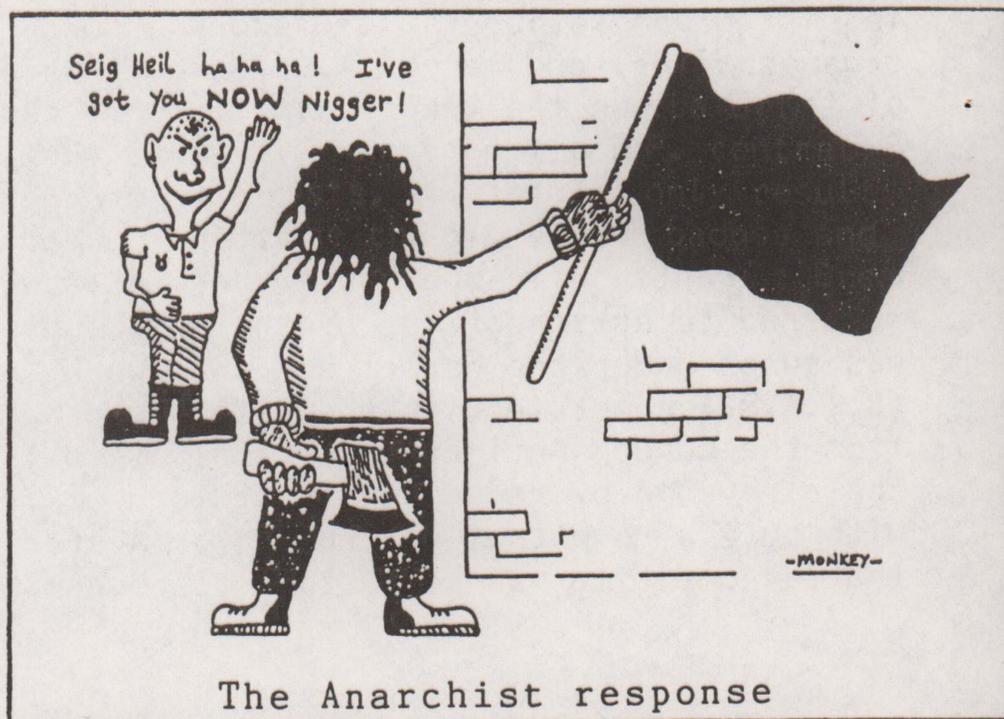
Not only were the S.W.P. determined to make sure that its own members didn't get involved in genuine anti-fascist resistance, but they did their very best to make sure that nobody else did. They thought themselves to be the police of the anti-fascist struggle. Slimey Simon Ogden, the S.W.P. top dog, has never been averse to 'grassing' on anti-fascist comrades who go beyond the S.W.P. line, and in many cases the S.W.P.s obstruction of anti-fascist direct action amounted to aiding the fascists.

In one case, a group of fascists including a particularly nasty member of the BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, (who had been convicted of more than one racist arson attack and who regularly dressed in Nazi uniform), were confronted by some Anarchists in the 'Pump Tavern'. However, before the good comrades could escort them to the carpark for some severe G.B.H. the S.W.P. cavalry arrived on the scene. They then conspired with the landlord of the pub to let the fascists escape through a back entrance. Ironically 2 of these fascists had been involved in an attack upon 'SOCIALIST WORKER' paper-sellers only the week before.

These are historical criticisms of the S.W.P. who were the largest Sheffield Trot group of the time, if the anti-fascist issue again becomes fashionable for the left, the Trot groups (now closer numerically) will be squabbling with each other to determine who plays the police role or they may well combine to do it. The chances are, however, that they will all be pipped by the Labour Party (see a future issue of THE SHEFFIELD ANARCHIST). Make no mistake though that this is what their involvement amounts to, they seek to leech off genuine anti-fascism and keep it within the safe confines of 'Protest', for they know that it would be impossible for them to stand around peddling papers in a war-zone.

ANARCHIST INVOLVEMENT

Anarchists are opposed to both state communism and fascism, indeed we see them as 2 heads of one totalitarian ideology. The difference for us is that the left do not offer a threat to our lives today, they do not petrol bomb the homes of Asian families or go around knifing gays, we therefore choose to fight them on a different level. That is not to say that we do not realise that one day we will be fighting for our lives against the forces of state communism, nor that if the need arises, we will not be prepared to use more 'direct' methods against them now, as one or two Sheffield Trots have found out to their peril.



In the 70's SHEFFIELD ANARCHISTS too propagandised against fascism, but unlike most of the Trots we were prepared to go beyond a 'war of words'. We were not only prepared to defend ourselves, but to go on the offensive. The results speak for themselves, for years Sheffield was a no-go area for fascists, not because people who openly dress in Nazi uniform are afraid of being called Nazis, but because they were not able to mobilise on the streets for fear of getting a good kicking or worse. Fascists cannot organise effectively if they are afraid for their lives, it just doesn't fit in with the master race ideology.

The curtain call for organised fascism in Sheffield in the 70's came when John Judge (N.F. secretary at the time), was paid a visit by armed Anarchists, this took place after several particularly nasty local fascist attacks. Along with the swag taken from Judge's house was an extensive list of names and addresses of Northern fascists. Members of the BRITISH MOVEMENT and BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY (and a few smaller fascist organisations) were included in the list along with N.F. members, and there was evidence that the Sheffield fascists had a very close working relationship; many were in fact members of more than one organisation. After this raid it was made known that any further fascist attacks would cost them some very severe reprisals. The effects of this were as follows:

- 1) Racist/anti-gay attacks ceased.
- 2) Organised fascism in Sheffield effectively collapsed.
- 3) John Judge left Sheffield and went into hiding.

Judge and his cronies had been planning an extensive terror campaign against soft targets in the Sheffield area (including Labour M.P.s Joan Maynard and Martin Flannery) obviously this campaign had to be abandoned after the raid.

One final note on the participation of the S.W.P. in the fight against fascism in the 70's. After the Judge raid, copies of the documents seized were passed on to S.W.P./A.N.L. fuhrer Simon Ogden; he burnt them.

THE FASCISM OF THE 80'S

Since the 1970's the tactics and politics of British fascism have changed considerably. They have largely rejected parliamentarianism in favour of a more militant, "revolutionary" approach, they realise that they could never gain power "through the ballot box" in a country where there is no right-wing vacuum. 80's fascism is more clever, more realistic and more dangerous. 'STRASSERISM' and 'THIRD POSITIONISM' are prevalent.

The Strasser brothers were among the most hard-line of Germany's National Socialists, and their followers were the backbone of the S.A. BROWNSHIRTS. The Strassers claimed that Hitler betrayed revolutionary National Socialism by doing deals with German industrialists. Today the N.F. offer their new recruits the chance to become "National Revolutionaries".

The other prevalent ideological source stems from the works of Italian fascist and "blood and soil" mystic Julius Evola. Evola's ideas were brought to Britain by exiled Italians like Robert Fiore who have run armed fascist groups in Europe. They oppose both capitalism and communism, supporting the so-called "Third Position" and attempting to "destabilise society" through a "strategy of tension" (e.g. the Bologna railway station massacre).

Another of Evola's ideas is the notion that people should return to the land - a sort of Feudalism meets Pol Pot.

The changing face of British fascist ideology and the influence of the Italian Third Positionists have been underlined by the leadership coup which took place in the N.F. in 1984.

After old-time Nazi Martin Webster expressed concern over the amount of influence the exiled Italians seemed to have over the N.F. he was ousted from his position as Activities Organiser and expelled from the Front, along with his close associates. Harrogate college lecturer Andrew Brons, who was then Chairman, was replaced. The new leadership of the Front are all under 30, and mainly from middle-class backgrounds. In return for 'safe-housing' they have taken lessons in tactics, structure, ideology, and fund-raising from their Italian mentors. No longer does the N.F. concentrate solely on immigration, in an attempt to throw their net wider to draw more people to the black heart of fascism the N.F. has formulated a whole series of campaigns, from

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animal rights to nuclear weapons, from conservation to unemployment. (As the Roger McGough poem puts it "There are fascists pretending to be humanitarians, like cannibals on a health kick eating only vegetarians").

No longer do the N.F. leadership shy away from openly calling for violence either, at a recent rally Deputy Chairman Nick Griffin said that the Front would use the "traditional British methods of the brick, the boot and the fist." At the same meeting, attended by about 400 fascists, instructions were given on how to track down and attack political opponents. And the fascist cannon-fodder, the so-called "political soldiers", are lapping up, in the last year N.F. membership figures have grown by more than 300% to between three and four thousand. Naturally, with the rise in membership figures has come a rise in fascist activity, there has been a massive escalation in racist attacks - up to 72% in some parts of the country, and they are getting more frequent and more vicious.

SHEFFIELD

After lying dormant in Sheffield for several years, the fascists scored a major victory in 1984 when the 'REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY' (Sic.) and 'SHEFFIELD CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACISM' (a Council front) conived with the police to allow them to march (see THE SHEFFIELD ANARCHIST Vol 3 No 4 for the full story). As we said then:

"The fascist machine raised its ugly head in Sheffield practically unopposed, and because of that they will be back. They have grown stronger because of what happened. LET IT BE TO THE EVERLASTING SHAME OF THOSE WHO DID NOTHING THAT FASCISTS WERE ALLOWED TO MARCH ON SHEFFIELD STREETS. THE BLOOD OF FUTURE FASCIST ACTIONS WILL BE ON YOUR HANDS. Next time we must stop them ourselves, and leave the Trots to hide behind their papers and their over-inflated egos."

Though not guilty of aiding the fascists in the treacherous way the R.C.P. did, the S.W.P. chose to totally ignore the fascist march in favour of another bandwagon.

As we have said in our columns before, 'STREET-PRESENCE' is the food and drink of fascism, it is this that attracts their cannon-fodder and makes them feel strong and confident. That is why fascism must be defeated on the streets as well as ideologically.

Following this victory for the fascists, it was not long before they started to become active once again, not active in selling papers or organising public meetings, but active in carrying out arson attacks, racist beatings and other cloak and dagger activities. The fascist "NIGHT SQUADS" are a national feature, in 1984 they committed over 7,000 racist attacks (just the reported tip of the iceberg), and far more in 1985, but now they are increasingly active in Sheffield. The new (or re-hashed) fascist ideologies have also reached Sheffield, and the 'Night Squads' have taken on a far more 'AUTONOMOUS' nature, making them harder to combat. This is consistent with the organisational methods of the Nazi S.A. ("We march separately, but fight together" - motto of the SA Brown-shirts) and the Italian fascist squadristi, and is increasingly the modus operandi of world fascism.

The fascists are no longer afraid of being exposed as fascists, and so the simplistic 'Anti-Nazi' propaganda of the A.N.L. is even less appropriate now than in the 70's. The fight against fascism must become increasingly hard-line, and as the N.F.s "heavy mob" warn that they "are about to take off the kid gloves" (both quotes from 'SEARCHLIGHT' anti-fascist journal), we warn anti-fascists that they can hold back from this fight no longer.

'STREET PRESENCE'

"Mass demonstrations must burn into the little man's soul the proud conviction that, though a little worm, he is nevertheless part of a great dragon."

ADOLF HITLER

"I believe that our great marches, with drums and flags and banners, have a hypnotic effect on the public and an immense effect in solidifying the allegiance of our followers, so that their enthusiasm can be sustained."

JOHN TYNDALL, 70's N.F. leader.

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LEARNING THE LESSONS OF LEEDS

At the 1978 'North-East Anarchist Federation' conference in Leeds, there was intense argument between Sheffield Anarchists and Leeds Anarchist Group about the way we should combat fascist activity. Our hard-line tactics were condemned, they would only lead to an escalation in fascist violence.

Leeds Anarchist Group have been proved very badly wrong for ignoring the fascists and leaving any pretense of anti-fascism to the left. Because fascist activity was not stopped in the 70's Leeds has grown to become the Northern cesspool of organised fascism. It has the strongest NF branch outside London (plus a strong fascist presence outside the NF) and acts as a hub for fascist activity throughout the North.

Leeds offers us a small glimpse of the anti-fascist nightmare, and the fascists a glimpse of the fascist dream; massive paper sales, a large street presence, regular meetings, terrified immigrant communities - all fuel for the fascist machine.

Leeds NF recruit much of their cannon fodder at Leeds United's Elland Road ground, where they sell over £40 of fascist literature weekly. This cannon fodder (including well-known meat heads 'LEEDS SERVICE CREW') is used to carry out attacks throughout West Yorkshire.

Naturally, given confidence by their success, the Leeds fascists are not content to stay in West Yorkshire, they see themselves as a marauding fascist army. Recently they have been helping Newcastle NF establish a "thriving" branch and regular paper sales. Commenting on their involvement in Newcastle, Frank Burden (influential psychopath in Leeds NF) recently said "We have some trouble with the Reds up there. We had our fights years ago in Leeds and won. Now we have to sort them out in Newcastle."

We must learn the lessons of Leeds, and not make the same mistakes as some of the Leeds anti-fascists or those who chose to ignore the fascists completely. One Leeds is enough, it offers succour to fascists from all over the North (including fascists from Sheffield), and potentially the Leeds marauding army are a very real threat. We must make sure, in Sheffield, that once again, as in the 70's, we offer the fascists no quarter. We must smash them completely and not leave others paying the price for our cowardice.

THE WAR THAT WILL ONE DAY COME

By looking at the fascist fantasy we can understand much of the nature (the sickness) of fascist mentality and the fascist attraction to paramilitarism. The fascist wanking fantasy of the white racial warrior descending from the hills to sort out the commies and niggers, and institute the 1000 year reich is even more rife than ever. Though in the 80's racialist wet-dream St George's sword has been replaced with an M16 rifle. Indeed, what has been described as "the most important document of the international nazi movement" is a novel, currently being sold in large numbers by the NF. 'THE TURNER DIARIES' by American fascist William Pierce, has also been described as a "blueprint for genocide", and it is exactly that. It tells the story of a fascist paramilitary organisation, initially a small cell, who stash arms, engage in 'survivalist' training and undertake random murders of "racial enemies". A clandestine underground movement is eventually created which stages a coup in Los Angeles. To cut a long story short, the 'New Order' then goes on to nuke half the world, exterminate the jews, 'race traitors, et al, and more or less take over the planet. A load of rubbish you might think, but we would do well to take it more seriously, if only because the fascists do. The book has already had a dramatic influence on at least one fascist paramilitary group in America where it was published. In Seattle 23 fascists were convicted for a terrorist campaign which included various tactics drawn from Pierce's blueprint: counterfeiting money in order to subvert the currency, threatening their own members with

**FIGHT
BACK**

Ulster is fighting for its existence. Come forward now and be trained to do your share. Every fit man owes this duty to himself and to his country.

ORGANISE NOW!
**JOIN
THE
U.D.A.**

This U.D.A. recruiting leaflet was distributed to an NF meeting in Leeds.

execution for disloyalty (and in one case carrying out such an execution), and killing prominent 'liberals', especially jews, as part of a strategy of destabilisation. In June 1984, the group (which calls itself several things, but most notably 'The Order' which is culled from the book) killed Alan Berg an American liberal TV personality. At the trial it was confirmed that the group had indeed used the book as a model.

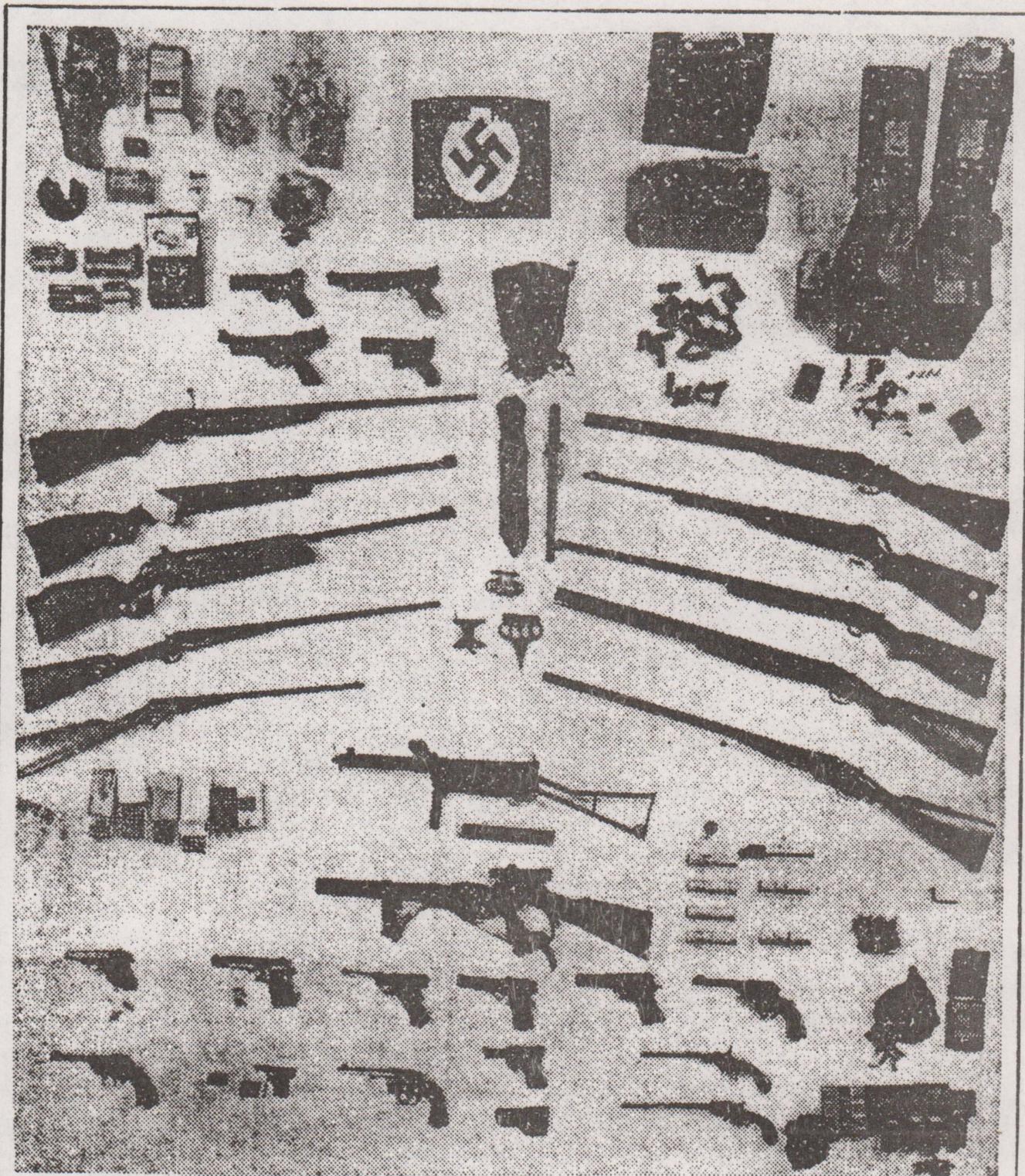
'The Turner Diaries' is not just a piece of sloppy Stallone-style right-wing fiction, its thesis bears considerable relevance to the ideas, tactics and strategy of the Italian 'Third Position' group, the ideas of whom, as we have seen, are currently at the forefront of the British fascist scene. And we need only look at the growing British 'survivalist' movement to see that fruit-cake fashions from the U.S. have a habit of turning up over here.

The fascists in this country have always had paramilitary groups of one kind or another, who have placed an important emphasis on receiving military training, acquiring weaponry and carrying out attacks. From 'COLUMN 88' (88=HH=Heil Hitler) who carried out attacks in the 70's, to the latest armed fascist gang, the Kent based 'DECEMBER 12TH GROUP' who see themselves as the masked avengers of jailed NF "education officer" Joe Pearce.

There are an increasing number of squaddies and ex-squaddies joining the fascist organisations, and in addition many fascists have received training with fascist groups in Europe, Lebanon and elsewhere. Also, as we have seen, many 'on the run' fascist terrorists from Europe are actively assisting the fascists in this country; adding the physical back-up to the fascist 'Italian Connection' theories. There is no doubt that over the last 10 years paramilitarism has continued to move more to the centre of the British fascist organisations. 'Survivalist' publications and army bomb manuals are now an inherent part of any fascist book-

stall, just as much as garbage like 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion'.

The British Movement, which yesterday held much of the political terrain the NF holds today, officially closed down 2 years ago, and is now made up entirely of regional autonomous groups. For some time they have attempted to make their paramilitarism more legally acceptable and give their ideas a wider circulation by becoming involved in the lucrative and rapidly expanding area of 'Survivalism'. In their



A BRITISH MOVEMENT arms cache uncovered in 1980, it included submachine guns, shotguns, rifles, pistols, CS gas, rubber bullets and 5,000 rounds of ammunition.

CONTINUED...

publication 'THE SURVIVALIST' they exhort their comrades to acquire (preferably from them) all types of weaponry from knives to assault rifles, to set up local autonomous paramilitary survivalist groups, and to be prepared for when the balloon goes up. If revolution comes, they say, all 'true patriots' must be prepared to go to war against the 'enemy'.

In addition to publishing their own survivalist mag, the fascists are involved with a far more professional and ambitious publication: 'SURVIVAL WEAPONRY AND TECHNIQUES'. Since its launch in November 1985, this glossy magazine, which is more diverse in its subject matter and far less overtly fascist, has been selling like hot cakes. One of the Sheffield newsagents which stocks it ('NewsWorld' of Chapel Walk) sold the 80 copies they had within a few days of the February issue appearing on the shelves. 'S.W.A.T.' could be justifiably subtitled 'The magazine for chocolate soldiers and armchair psychopaths', but it is not solely a fascist fantasy mag. There is no doubt that the fascists are prepared to turn their fantasies into reality, and many of the advertisers in this magazine act as quartermasters to militant fascists. We should remember however, that these firms do not limit themselves to supplying only fascists.

In the past, and increasingly so today, the fascists are prepared for a war that will one day come. We must not only be prepared for a war against the forces of the right in the future, but we must be prepared to fight them today. It would be too easy to let the Asian and Black communities bear the brunt of fascist violence alone, but one day, unless we take them on now, the "night-squads" will be knocking on our doors. The longer we leave it the stronger they will become and the higher the stakes will be.

We should not overestimate the fascists, our main enemy still remains the extremists of the centre, but we must not ignore them either, we must be prepared to fight all the way. Nor should we be demoralised by fascist activity, (once we are intimidated we are already defeated), for we too must learn that a small determined number of people can have an effect out of all proportion to their numbers.

If necessary we must resurrect a slogan from the 70's :

FASCISTS FORFEIT THE RIGHT TO LIVE.

Authority & Madness

Generally psychiatric patients are not encouraged to know much about psychiatry and psychology. The professionals like to keep a monopoly of knowledge. I remember that when I was first locked up in a top security mental hospital I was very surprised by the absence of psychiatric books from the patients' library. It is often the case that specialities which practitioners guard as mysteries have something to hide. The theologians want to hide the non-existence of God. Orthodox economists hide the exploitation of labour. Psychiatrists hide the fact that most 'mental illness' is the result of oppression.

The basic nature of psychiatry can be seen in the way it is done by general practitioners. People have problems. But they cannot go to their GPs and say "Doctor I can't stand my family life" or "Doctor my job (or being unemployed) is getting me down". What doctors will listen to are complaints about problems' symptoms. People can go to the doctor and say "I'm feeling depressed" or "I'm finding it hard to sleep". "Ah", says the doctor, "You are suffering from depression, suffering from insomnia, these pills will help." Because the doctor treats the mental symptoms and not the social causes, the person's trouble, and need for pills, continues. Very profitable for the drug companies.

Continued...

At the consultant psychiatrist level. psychiatry functions much the same. The psychiatrist encounters people who have been harmed by intolerable pressures and demands. The patriarchal family, socially repressed sexuality, poverty, exploited labour have proved too much for them. The psychiatrist assumes that you cannot change society, you must change the person. Most psychiatrists have even been taught that the social order is not the cause of mental illness. Chemical imbalances in the brain are according to them the primary cause, rather than just symptoms. The psychiatrists treat the symptoms of 'mental illness. Naturally this does not eradicate the problems that cause it, but the continued existence of 'mental illness' is vital to maintain the high salaries of psychiatrists.

My own experience of psychiatry has been in a maximum security hospital, Park Lane near Liverpool. The 'dangerous' mental patient tends to differ from the run of the mill psychiatric victim in having actually rebelled against repression and expressed his/her anger or desires in illegal ways. From an anarchic viewpoint the dangerous mental patient has some insight. She/he has realised to some extent that the problem is repression and fights against it, but is frequently not aware of the possibility of destroying the oppressing power by common action and achieving a society where people are happy.

The basis of the regime at Park Lane Hospital is a system for crushing rebellion. Under the Mental Health Act patients can be held in the hospital without limit of time, subject only to appeal to a Mental Health Review Tribunal (presided over by a judge). If you submit totally, to drugs, to psychotherapy; if you are polite to the 'nurses', do not engage in violence or rooftop protests, you are transferred to a 'parole' ward, allowed to walk in the grounds, and eventually, after a few years or half a lifetime in hospital, released. If you are persistently rebellious you get locked up in a 'high dependency' ward, drugged into a stupor, and your release is indefinitely postponed. Even once released, patients can, if subject to a 'restriction order' as many are, be brought back for the slightest offence. It is a very effective method of turning rebels into conformists.

When I came to Park Lane Hospital I had some experience of political activity. I was aware my crime had been a confused expression of defiance. In the two years I have been here the doctors and staff have done their best to confuse me. It is the standard psychiatric trick to persuade people that their problem lies in their own 'illness' not in what the state/ the social order does to them. Personally I think the way to stop people being 'mentally ill' or 'criminals' is to turn them into revolutionaries, so that instead of suffering oppression or lashing out blindly they work to destroy the oppressive system. I have tried to turn myself into a revolutionary. The authorities are puzzled by the way I combine outward moderate obedience with ideological revolt. Opinions are divided as to whether it is safe to release me.

I think there is a great need for anarchist ideas to be passed on to those labelled 'mentally ill'. The 'mentally ill' (and also most criminals) are victims of the state, they can help smash it and build a new world. Some psychologists, for instance Fromm, Reich and David Cooper, have accepted to some extent that mental disorder largely originates from the social system. Anarchists should build on this to produce an anti-psychiatry of liberation. This could be spread via self-help consciousness raising groups for patients, who would pass from taking drugs to taking direct action.

MICHAEL DAVIES



PORNOGRAPHY

Dear friends,

Your article on pornography in the Winter issue cites Andrea Dworkin approvingly (she is an American feminist and anti-pornographer). I thought readers might like to know that Dworkin's recent position has been to promote an implacable campaign for legalistic, bureaucratic censorship. Needless to say the forces of overt reaction are enthusiastically supporting the campaign.

Of course, I'm not suggesting that everything she has ever said is rubbish just because she's now a censorian. On the other hand, it's likely that her choices of action must to some extent have emerged from her beliefs and ideas.

Perhaps it's something to do with single-issue campaigns. For example sometimes you get the impression that some anti-nukers would support virtually any kind of political group or figure, so long as it would disarm. Maybe single-issue mentalities involve a kind of political "tunnel vision". That might explain the apparent narrowness and polarisation of attitudes which appeared in the recent FREEDOM (Anarchist monthly) debate on "violent" direct action against pornshops.

I suppose the moral of the fable might be: avoid obsessive tendencies in political debate and action?

T.J.

POLAND

Dear Chums!

Thanks a lot for your letter and magazines. They are very interesting for me and for my friends (it's a pity that not all my friends speak English).



You have very good choice of anarchistic writers, interesting comments on present events in your country, and very funny pictures.

You asked me what's happening in Gdansk. Now it's rather quiet here. On the day of elections (13th October) it was demonstration of RS@ (Movement of Alternative Society - anarchistic organisation created about a year ago). SOLIDARITY and RS@ called people to boycott elections. As the government claims 75% of people took part in the elections. It is a very small number compared with traditional 99% attendance in communist elections.

I want to know what's the program of English Anarchists. In our country anarchistic movement is very small. There is RS@ and small anarchistic and anarcho-syndicalistic groups connected with SOLIDARITY. Our program is supporting other anti-totalitarian movements and making anarchistic propaganda. We also want to fight compulsory military service.

ALL THE BEST IN THE NEW YEAR

KLAUDIUSZ

Q - What's small, brown and dangerous?
A - A pheasant with a machine gun.

Dear Anarchists,

I read your THE SHEFFIELD ANARCHIST Vol 3 No 11 with interest - The published names and addresses of The Foxhill Fascists was a nice touch as is Phonline Fun.

What I would like to know is more about participation - Anarchists had a history of heroes, where are they now, the Anarchists that lived up to their name and participated in the cause?

The Animal Action Communique was interesting with amusing bits, but surely the remedy to save pheasants from the gun is to give the pheasants guns to shoot back with or alternatively to make the situation so unbearable as to frighten the fee-paying customers and/or the owner and friends of the estate that much they'd be unable to pick up a gun again. The people we are talking about are the ones that are forever saying "violence is not the answer" and "violence will not be tolerated" - only because violence is the thing they fear most. That is why the police have been given more powers under "public order acts" brought out by owners of estates and fee-paying customers. So why not give them what they fear the most and the pheasants will be grateful.

I look forward to your next copy.

J.P.

COHERENT ANARCHISM

By 'Coherent Anarchism' I mean to devise and implement a practical doctrine supported by theory through which we could finally attempt to create the society we all crave for. It will involve generations of devotion, frustration and sacrifice.

One of the major problems of humankind throughout the world is that there is not enough humility. To preach an arrogant doctrine. Full of hate and viciousness, without accepting full responsibility for the consequences of that doctrine is wrong and irresponsible.

The fact that you are an Anarchist does not negate your responsibility to the human race.

Two paths may be trod towards our objective. One of these paths involves the gradual evolution of a means of altering society to the benefit of all mankind. The second path involves the principle of immediate and utter destruction of the state.

If I am to continue as a 'Coherent Anarchist' - the second path must be forgotten. There is no doctrine, creed or set of beliefs which is worth the total suffering of the total people.

The first path involves a nurturing of the human condition, - a nurturing to the point of explaining - over and over - explaining, debating, theorising and demonstrating by example, so that, in time, a voluntary and sincere acceptance of Anarchist consciousness takes root in the minds of all the people. It is an immense task.

Only a small of the people are interested in politics, or, to qualify it further, only a small element are interested to the point where they would actively do something about it. The vast majority of the total mass of the people are simply not interested in taking part in a movement whose ultimate objective is, at some point in the future, to change the society in which we live.

In the day to day routine of living, planning for the individual is generally restricted to a personal basis, ie family planning, buying a house, obtaining a council house, judging on the possibility of a new job, next year's holiday, next week's 'date', - really 'futuristic' planning would probably involve something like career possibilities, retirement plans, pensions, planning a daughter's wedding in two year's time. In the total mass of the total people there are very few whose lives revolve round the reason for the death of the dinosaurs, or whether we have kin on Alpha Centauri.

I would venture to say that not all the people are totally committed to the system in which we live, the critical point to be made though, is that they would prefer to alter it within the existing boundaries.

When I talk of Coherent Anarchism I am talking of radical restructuring of society.

To foresee an utterly radical and stupendous change of thought, change of attitude, change of being, is at present bordering on the realms of science fiction. Yet, it is this very change which is required throughout mankind.

I no longer agree with the concept of the 'working class' or the 'revolution', - the subsequent practical manifestations of these terms will not provide us with the Anarchist society we desire. Authority, force and power would still be the meat, fuel and lubricants of the society and the divine right of kings would have been replaced by the divine right of party, or class. We are agreed that there is no divine right!

Even at this moment in time I would not consider the overthrow of the monarchy simply because it would just involve a transference of divine right, it would be of no assistance to the common people, and it is the continual subjugation of the common people which we are trying to avoid.

I give you two questions to think about, to contemplate;

a) Assume you, as Anarchists, are given complete command of society as of tomorrow, - how would you go about it?

b) Imagine that the government has offered us, as Anarchists, a half hour of time on a T.V. current affairs programme to put our vision, ideas, principles to the people, - what would you say?

Remember you are dealing with people! The vast majority of them, ordinary, sincere and decent people whose being exists within their own life's circles.

There are billions of people out there whom we wish to embrace the concept of Anarchism. It is not enough for us to throw at them a creed of hate and rejection. We have to grasp the fact that a group of intended 'movers of society' need to have their ideas voluntarily and sincerely accepted and implemented through the minds of the people, not through a beauracratc procedure, or imposed by force, propaganda or ulterior persuasion.

COHERENT ANARCHISM ? - A REPLY.

To answer some of your points. Firstly you fail to specify who or what is preaching an arrogant doctrine. If Anarchism is the 'arrogant doctrine' as you almost suggest in your next line, then you have failed to qualify that statement. I can only assume that the real intention of your article is to offer yet another pacifist option into Anarchism, this you do by putting forward two objectives for us as Anarchists. Firstly, the gradual evolution of altering society to the benefit of all mankind. Secondly the principle of immediate destruction of the state. I think most of us as Anarchists would agree that it is the second principle you have put forward that would lead to the gradual evolution of altering society to benefit mankind, since any hope of destroying the state machinery by gradual evolution would be met by too many barriers. I for one would feel that my efforts of 'propaganda by the deed' would be totally wasted if its effects were not to be truly felt until another 3000 years.

For Anarchists to argue an evolutionary road to destroying the state would put them in the same league as certain political reformers such as The Fabian Society or certain liberals or possibly even radical Tories. Anarchists have essentially seen the state as being a fundamental barrier to human evolution and social co-operation, and unless it is destroyed Humankind cannot progress on the natural path it should be allowed.

With reference to what I feel is your pacifist argument, namely the attainment of Anarchism by constant explaining, debating and theorising. Besides the theorising aspect, which would involve a separate discussion, debating and explaining are already important elements in Anarchist circles. However, try explaining mutualism without the state to an executive director of a multinational corporation or better still to a militarist system of government, they both defend their continuing existence by way of control on woman/mankind in one way or another. Do you think that the workers in South America have not tried at some time in their lives to explain their plight to military dictatorships, even though the very same dictators probably knew of the starvation and desperation being suffered by those people? Do you think that the current situation in South Africa has not been through every conceivable negotiation possible? Do you think that the miners strike arose spontaneously? It must be realised that the NCB with the full co-operation of the government and courts had prepared for such a strike years in advance. I outline the above only as examples of what may be faced if Anarchism was to take on the role of simply 'nurturing'.

Anarchism has a history of realising the violence that is caused in the name of protecting the state. Protecting the state often comes under different names, for example 'the national interest' to 'protect the democracy we all enjoy', 'protecting the very fabric of our society' and more recently 'protecting ourselves from the enemies within'. When Joseph Proudhon made his famous quotes on 'What is government' in 1848 (see below) it was not without realisation that while government existed so would human control. His assessment of government applies now just as much as it did in Proudhon's day.

You also mention that only a small element of the people are interested in politics and that the vast majority of the total mass of people are simply not interested in taking part in a movement whose ultimate objective is to change the society in which we live. Besides this statement being a generalisation, it is also too simple an assessment of society in a given political situation. I feel that where there is social disinterest in politics it is because people have failed to see the alternative to just putting a cross on a piece of paper or that people are so burdened with day to

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"To be governed is to be watched over, inspected, spied upon, directed, legislated at, regulated, docketed, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, assessed, weighed, censored, ordered about, by men who have neither the right, nor the knowledge, nor the virtue. To be governed means to be, at each operation, at each operation, at each transaction, at each movement, noted, registered, controlled, taxed, stamped, measured, valued, assessed, patented, licensed, authorised, endorsed, admonished, hampered, reformed, rebuked, arrested. It is to be, on the pretext of the general interest, taxed, drilled, held to ransom, exploited, monopolised, extorted, squeezed, hoaxed, robbed; then, at the least resistance, at the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, abused, annoyed, followed, bullied, beaten, disarmed, garroted, imprisoned, machine-gunned, judged, condemned, deported, flogged, sold, betrayed, and finally, mocked, ridiculed, insulted, dishonoured. Such is government, such is its justice, such is its morality."

day existence, that political reality becomes defined in narrower and narrower definitions. Let us not forget politics as presented by press, current publications, education and the media revolves around the 'parliamentary political party', 'political representation' and 'one party policy that sounds very much like another party policy'. When television, radio and the all too politically educated and unbiased British press are pumping this down the throats of the all too gullible British public, a life without state control begins to sound pretty silly. I could go on forever giving reasons why Anarchism is not a mass movement in Britain, but I can say that you only have to look as far as the British trade union movement to find out why, a movement with an unforgiveable history of sell-outs, conformity and downright oppression, it is this movement that has caused more harm to the political education of the working class than any tory member of parliament.

I feel confident to predict that as poverty increases, so will the state digress towards greater control and surveillance over the effects of imposed poverty. There is nothing more coherent in politics than poverty, it was perhaps Bakunin who more than anyone recognised that empty bellies made the best political educators. There will obviously on this basis be a future of two fundamental political choices; either to exist in apathy and poverty or to fight their political oppressor.

I feel I must comment on your reluctance to accept the existence of a 'working class' whilst it may be agreed that the structure and living standards may have generally changed since the later half of the last century, it cannot be denied that there does exist a 'working class' either in economic and/or cultural terms. It is also true to say that this class suffers at the expense of those classes economically above it. The fact that you decide to ignore any existence of a 'working class' is like stating that you don't see any economic or cultural difference between somebody in receipt of supplementary benefit living in a council house and a member of the royal family, for example prince Philip who is shortly destined to receive £200,000 per year or the queen herself whose state income is set to bypass the £4 million a year mark.

I feel there is something slightly wrong with the existence of monarchy and the state, especially when you make comparisons with the government 'awards' to old aged pensioners of 40 pence a week, or the supplementary benefit increases to single people of ten pence a week. Obviously this leads me onto your reference to royalty. I think by overthrow of the monarchy you probably mean its abolition, since Anarchism does not proclaim a replacement, but rather its death. If Anarchism was to sweep through the British isles then any form of monarchy would be very short lived indeed, and that I'm afraid is that.

The current monarchy exists because they highlight themselves as a necessity in the success of British foreign policy, it is this aspect which shows royal connections with the political make-up of the state. The 'romance' aspect is produced under the guise of social need, this is where enormous amounts of wealth are pumped into royal weddings and royal engagements. The press undertake to sensationalise and romanticise, the media not only go out to show it to audiences, but also to make sure that viewers are given no alternative in channels, you are left with a perfect social brainwashing technique. In other words forget your poverty and social conditions, how about some fairyland bullshit. Almost on a daily basis we are given phoney depictions of a perfect family and the consumerist ideology based around this ideal. It is probably one of the reasons why royalty fears too much imposition by sensationalist seeking press barons, since the ideal would obviously be replaced by reality.

Royalty is as much a profit making industry as any multinational corporation, for example it is a tourist industry, a publishing industry, an entertainment industry. All this goes towards the justification of its existence, in other words human beings working for the continuation of a false ideal, its weddings, its funerals, its control over enormous amounts of property and finance. I feel that nothing justifies this form of gluttonous luxury, especially when old aged pensioners are dying in huge numbers year by year due to hypothermia and when a large proportion of society are individually left to exist on less than £30 a week. I feel there is something deeply hypocritical when on the one hand royalty are portrayed as making constant visits to institutions for the physically and mentally handicapped and countries whose population is

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dying of starvation in their thousands, and on the other hand they are massively financed to uphold the so-called 'British tradition'.

With reference to the latter part of your article

a) Anarchists do not command a society, Anarchism is a way of life, it is what is left when authority and the state have been shook off. If Anarchists did have complete command over society they would not be Anarchists, but rather dictators.

The way to attain Anarchism as a way of life is to end all forms of state control. Laws, police and the courts are only tools by which the state controls people. There is an assumption that removal of the state and its tools such as law and police will result in social chaos and perpetual violence. However, whilst I would agree that destroying the state machinery would by no means be a peaceful process, ending its control can only see greater freedoms and more suitable ways of living than what we are currently having to endure. I feel that communities which try to disassociate themselves from the state, and there are the odd few in this country, are more successful in their attempts for peaceful objectives than for example state run welfare institutions or the violent control on human beings in prisons. (I will be doing more on this subject in future issues of 'THE SHEFFIELD ANARCHIST').

Perhaps the best form of evidence was put forward by Kropotkin in his book 'MUTUAL AID', Kropotkin introduced an opposing theory to those who believed that humankind was essentially evil or bad and that the savage elements of woman/mankind would always predominate because this had been a recognisable factor in human evolution. Kropotkin provided evidence however to show that this wasn't the case and that there had been a recognisable co-operative element in the evolution of the species.

This laid the foundations to Anarchist rationale which stipulates if humankind is essentially a co-operative species and good, then control by the state and authority of any kind is unnecessary. state control therefore imposes on evolutionary and social progress. There are however other theories, William Godwin put one forward, it is up to yourself which you feel is appropriate.

I am unable to go into any further details to answer your article, however I hope the above has been helpful to some of the questions you put forward. Thankyou.

GARRY

BELFAST' CONTD.

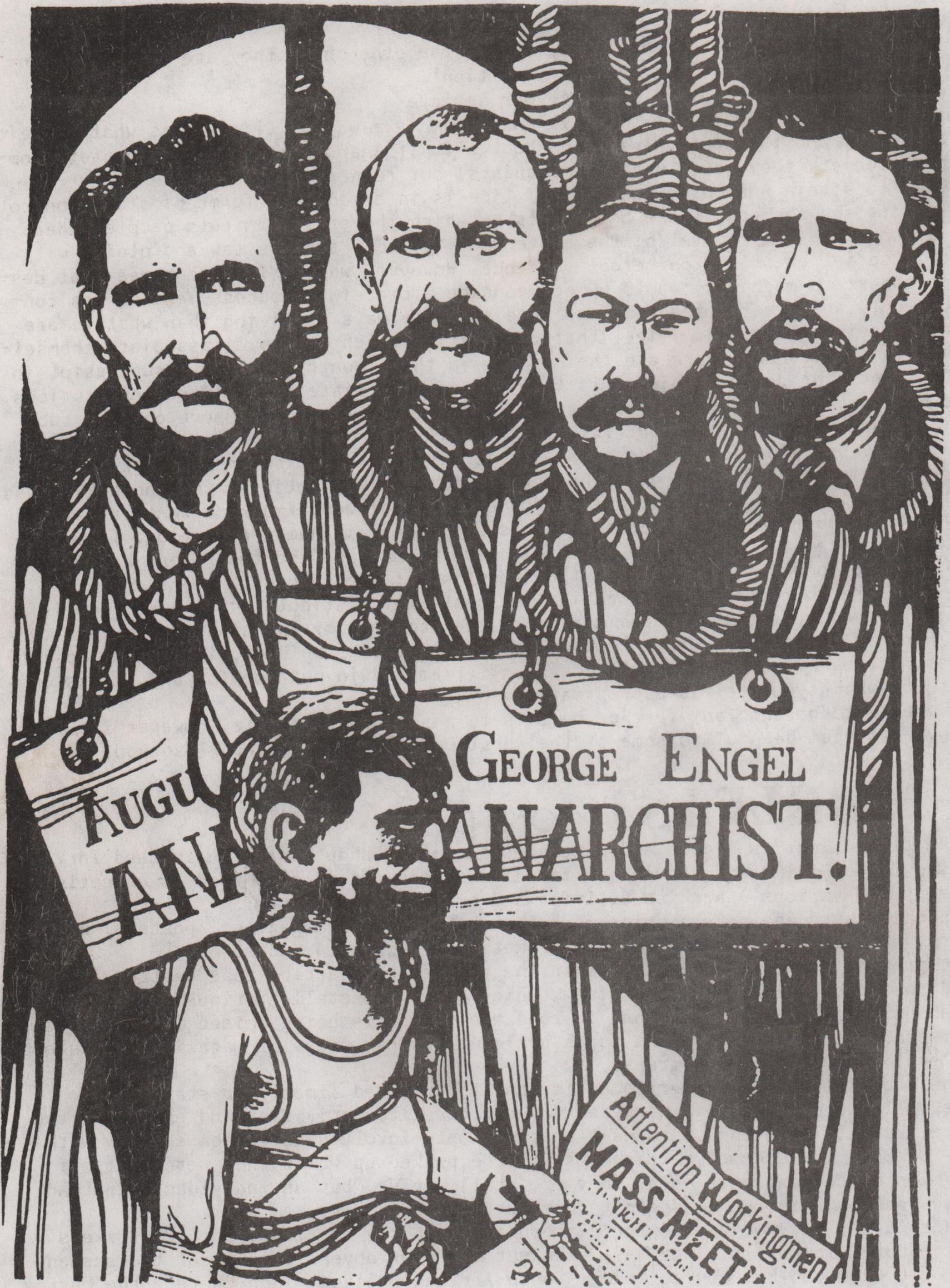
The first floor is a cafe and meeting place after shop hours, it is used for the showing of films and videos and for discussions. It is also used as a meeting place by the various Anarchist activist and propagandist groups.

Up the stairs again is a print workshop where various magazines, posters, newspapers, etc are produced. ie Warzone promotions, 'Ainrail' and so on.

At present a group of people are in the process of starting an @ Centre. It's hoped that there will be a recording studio, cafe, bookstall, various creative workshops, creche, etc. The money to fund the centre is being raised from benefit gigs, proceeds from records and tapes by local groups, sales of magazines, newsheets and local "Government"(?!) grants.

The local Direct Action group calls itself 'Troubled Times'. It started off quite well and even wrote a newsheet to publicise its activities and events in the future, but all this came to a halt as the people involved have been so busy with the @ Centre. It is hoped that things will be picked up where they were left off though once the centre is open. They are still active, but as individuals instead of as a group. Although it doesn't seem to be as effective.

There are plenty of causes for concern and support, not least the 12 strikers Dunnes Stores in Dublin. They have been out for over a year because of the suspension of a girl who refused to handle South African produce. Then there's the Murray appeal for conjugal rights. They are two Anarchists who are serving life sentences for shooting a policeman. They would like to have a baby, Marie is 37 and time is running short. The case was judged against them in mid May, but the fight goes on. These are just two examples, there are others that affect us more closely; troops out, no plastic bullets, and the fight for an end to the supergrass and Diplock court systems. I started off by saying there's more to Belfast, well there is there's hope, there are lot's of us doing our best to get our message across to as many people as possible, and as long as we try there's hope for peace in Belfast, and indeed Ireland.



**“The Time Will Come When Our Silence
Will Be More Powerful
Than The Voices You Strangle Today.”** August Spies.
Nov. 11th 1887